INSTRUCTIONS

TO A

STATESMAN.

HUMBLY INSCRIBED TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

GEORGE EARL TEMPLE.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

GEORGE EARL TEMPLE.

MY LORD,

THE following papers fell into my hands by one of thoſe unaccountable accidents, ſo frequent in human life, but which in the relation appear almoſt incredible. I will not however trouble your lordſhip with the ſtory. If they be worthy of the preſs, it is of no great conſequence to the public how they found their way thither. If they afford your lordſhip a moment's amuſement, amidſt the weightier cares incident to your rank and fortune, I have obtained my end.

I have endeavoured in vain to inveſtigate who was their author, and to whom they were addreſſed. It ſhould ſeem, from the internal evidence of the compoſition, that they were written by a perſon, who was originally of a low rank or a menial ſtation, but who was diſtinguiſhed by his lord for thoſe abilities and talents, he imagined he diſcovered in him. I have learned, by a kind of vague tradition, upon which I can place little dependence, that the noble pupil was the owner of a magnificent *château* not a hundred miles from your lordſhip's admired ſeat in the county of Buckingham. It is ſaid that this nobleman, amidſt a thouſand curioſities with which his gardens abounded, had the unac-

countable whim of placing a kind of artificial hermit in one of its wildeſt and moſt ſolitary receſſes. This hermit it ſeems was celebrated through the whole neighbourhood, for his ingenuity in the carving of tobacco-ſtoppers, and a variety of other accompliſhments. Some of the peaſants even miſtook him for a conjuror. If I might be allowed in the conjectural licence of an editor, I ſhould be inclined to aſcribe the following compoſition to this celebrated and ingenious ſolitaire.

Since however this valuable tract remains without an owner, I thought it could not be ſo properly addreſſed to any man as your lordſhip. I would not however be

be miſunderſtood. I do not imagine that the claim this performance has upon the public attention, conſiſts in the value and excellence of it's precepts. On the contrary, I conſider it as the darkeſt and moſt tremendous ſcheme for the eſtabliſhment of deſpotiſm that ever was contrived. If the public enter into my ſentiments upon the ſubject, they will conſider it as effectually ſuperſeding Machiavel's celebrated treatiſe of The Prince, and exhibiting a more deep-laid and deſperate ſyſtem of tyranny. For my part, I eſteem theſe great and deſtructive vices of ſo odious a nature, that they need only be expoſed to the general view in order to the being ſcouted by all. And if, which indeed I cannot poſſibly believe,

believe, there has been any noble lord in this kingdom mean enough to have ſtudied under ſuch a preceptor, I would willingly ſhame him out of his principles, and hold up to him a glaſs, which ſhall convince him how worthy he is of univerſal contempt and abhorrence.

The true reaſon, my lord, for which I have preſumed to prefix your name to theſe ſheets is, that the contraſt between the precepts they contain, and the ingenuous and manly character that is univerſally attributed to your lordſhip, may place them more ſtrongly in the light they deſerve. And yet I doubt not there will be ſome readers perverſe enough to imagine that you are the true object of the compo-

compoſition. They will find out ſome of thoſe ingenious coincidences, by which The Rape of the Lock, was converted into a political poem, and the *Telemaque* of the amiable Fenelon into a ſatire againſt the government under which he lived. I might eaſily appeal, againſt theſe treacherous commentators, to the knowledge of all men reſpecting every corner of your lordſhip's gardens at Stowe. I might boldly defy any man to ſay, that they now contain, or ever did contain, one of theſe artificial hermits. But I will take up your lordſhip's defence upon a broader footing. I will demonſtrate how contrary the character of your anceſtors and your own have always been to the ſpirit and temper

temper here inculcated. If this runs me a little into the beaten ſtyle of dedication, even the modeſty of your lordſhip will excuſe me, when I have ſo valuable a reaſon for adopting it.

I ſhall confine myſelf, my lord, in the few thoughts I mean to ſuggeſt upon this head, to your two more immediate anceſtors, men diſtinguiſhed above the common rate, by their virtues or their abilities. Richard earl Temple, your lordſhip's immediate predeceſſor, as the repreſentative of your illuſtrious houſe, will be long remembered by poſterity under the very reſpectable title of the friend of the earl of Chatham. But though his friend, my lord, we well know

that he did not implicitly follow the ſentiments of a man, who was aſſuredly the firſt ſtar in the political hemiſphere, and whoſe talents would have excuſed, if any thing could have excuſed, an unſuſpecting credulity. The character of lord Chatham was never, but in one inſtance, tarniſhed. He did not ſufficiently dread the omnipotence of the favourite. He fondly imagined that before a character ſo brilliant, and ſucceſs ſo impoſing as his had been, no little ſyſtem of favouritiſm could keep its ground. Twice, my lord, he was upon the brink of the precipice, and once he fell. When he trembled on the verge, who was it that held him back? It was Richard earl Temple. Twice he came, like

his

his guardian angel, and ſnatched him from his fate. Lord Chatham indeed was formed to champ the bit, and ſpurn indignant at every reſtraint. He knew the ſuperiority of his abilities, he recollected that he had twice ſubmitted to the honeſt counſels of his friend, and he diſdained to liſten any longer to a coolneſs, that aſſimilated but ill to the adventurouſneſs of his ſpirit; and to a heſitation, that wore in his apprehenſion the guiſe of timidity. What then did Richard earl Temple do? There he fixed his ſtandard, and there he pitched his tent. Not a ſtep farther would he follow a leader, whom to follow had been the boaſt of his life. He erected a fortreſs that might one day prove the ſafeguard of his miſguided and unſuſpecting friend.

And yet, my lord, the character of Richard earl Temple, was not that of cauſeleſs ſuſpicion. He proved himſelf, in a thouſand inſtances, honeſt, truſting, and ſincere. He was not, like ſome men, that you and I know, dark, diſpaſſionate, and impenetrable. On the contrary, no man miſtook him, no man ever charged him with a double conduct or a wrinkled heart. His countenance was open, and his ſpirit was clear. He was a man of paſſions, my lord. He acted in every momentous concern, more from the dictates of his heart, than his head. But this is the key to his conduct; He kept a watchful eye upon that bane of every patriot miniſter, *ſecret influence*. If there were one feature in his political

hiſtory more conſpicuous than the reſt, if I were called to point out the line of diſcrimination between his character and that of his contemporaries upon the public ſtage, it would be the *hatred of ſecret influence.*

Such, my lord, was one of your immediate anceſtors, whoſe name, to this day, every honeſt Briton repeats with veneration. I will turn to another perſon, ſtill more nearly related to you, and who will make an equal figure in the hiſtory of the age in which he lived, Mr. George Grenville. His character has been repreſented to us by a writer of no mean diſcernment, as that of "ſhrewd and inflexible." He was a man of indefatigable induſtry

duſtry and application. He poſſeſſed a ſound underſtanding, and he truſted it. This is a reſpectable deſcription. Integrity and independency, however miſtaken, are entitled to praiſe. What was it, my lord, that he conſidered as the ruin of his reputation? What was it, that defeated all the views of an honeſt ambition, and deprived his country of the ſervices, which his abilities, under proper direction, were qualified to render it? My lord, it was *ſecret influence*. It was in vain for miniſters to be able to conſtruct their plans with the higheſt wiſdom, and the moſt unwearied diligence; it was in vain that they came forward like men, and riſqued their places, their characters, their all, upon meaſures, however

ever arduous, that they thought neceſſary for the ſalvation of their country. They were defeated, by what, my lord? By abilities greater than their own? By a penetration that diſcovered blots in their wiſeſt meaſures? By an oppoſition bold and adventurous as themſelves? No: but, by the *lords of the bed-chamber*; by a "band of Janiſſa-"ries who ſurrounded the perſon "of the prince, and were ready "to ſtrangle the miniſter upon "the nod of a moment."

With theſe illuſtrious examples ever ruſhing upon your memory, no man can doubt that your lord-ſhip has inherited that deteſtation of *influence*, by which your anceſ-tors were ſo honourably diſtin-guiſhed.

guiſhed. My lord, having conſidered the high expectations, which the virtues of your immediate progenitors had taught us to form upon the heir of them both, we will recollect for a moment the promiſes that your firſt outſet in life had made to your country.

One of your lordſhip's firſt actions upon record, conſiſts in the high profeſſions you made at the county meeting of Buckingham, in that ever-venerable æra of œconomy and reform, the ſpring of 1780. My lord, there are certain offices of ſinecure, not dependent upon the caprice of a miniſter, which this country has reſerved to reward thoſe illuſtrious ſtateſmen, who have ſpent their lives, and

and worn out their conſtitutions in her ſervice. No man will wonder, when he recollects from whom your lordſhip has the honour to be deſcended, that one of theſe offices is in your poſſeſſion. This, my lord, was the ſubject of your generous and diſintereſted profeſſions. You told your countrymen, that with this office you were ready to part. If a reformation ſo extenſive were thought neceſſary, you were determined, not merely to be no obſtacle to the deſign, but to be a volunteer in the ſervice. You came forward in the eye of the world, with your patent in your hand. You were ready to ſacrifice that parchment, the precious inſtrument of perſonal wealth and private benevolence, at the ſhrine of patriotiſm.

Here then, my lord, you ſtood pledged to your country. What were we not to expect from the firſt patriot of modern ſtory? Your lordſhip will readily imagine that our expectations were boundleſs and indefinite. "Glorious "and immortal man!" we cried, "go on in this untrodden path. "We will no longer look with "drooping and cheerleſs anxiety "upon the misfortunes of Britain, "we have a reſource for them "all. The patriot of Stowe is "capable of every thing. He "does not reſemble the vulgar "herd of mortals, he does not "form his conduct upon prece-"dent, nor defend it by example. "Virtue of the firſt impreſſion was "never yet ſeparated from genius.

"We will truſt then in the expe-
"dients of his inexhauſtible mind.
"We will look up to him as our
"aſſured deliverer.—We are well
"acquainted with the wealth of
"the proprietor of Stowe. Thanks,
"eternal thanks to heaven, who
"has beſtowed it with ſo liberal a
"hand! We conſider it as a depoſit
"for the public good. We count
"his acres, and we calculate his in-
"come, for we know that it is, in
"the beſt ſenſe of the word, our
"own."

My lord, theſe are the preju-
dices, which Engliſhmen have
formed in your favour. They
cannot refuſe to truſt a man, de-
ſcended from ſo illuſtrious proge-
nitors. They cannot ſuſpect any
thing

thing dark and diſhonourable in the generous donor of 2700*l.* a year. Let then the commentators againſt whom I am providing, abjure the name of Briton, or let them pay the veneration that is due to a character, in every view of the ſubject, ſo exalted as that of your lordſhip.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

with the moſt unfeigned reſpect,

your lordſhip's

moſt obedient,

moſt devoted ſervant.

INSTRUCTIONS

TO A

STATESMAN.

MY LORD,

I HAVE long conſidered as the greateſt happineſs of my life, the having ſo promiſing a pupil as your lordſhip. Though your abilities are certainly of the very firſt impreſſion, they are not however of that vague and indefinite ſpecies, which we often meet with in perſons, who, if providence had ſo pleaſed, would have figured with equal adroitneſs in the character of a ſhoe-black or a link-boy, as they now flatter themſelves they can do in that of a miniſter of ſtate. You, my

lord, were born with that accompliſh-ment of ſecrecy and retentiveneſs, which the archbiſhop of Cambray repreſents Telemachus as having poſſeſſed in ſo high a degree in conſequence of the mode of his education. You were always diſ-tinguiſhed by that art, never to be ſuffi-ciently valued, of talking much and ſay-ing nothing. I cannot recollect, and yet my memory is as great, as my opportu-nity for obſervation has been conſiderable, that your lordſhip, when a boy, ever betrayed a ſingle fact that chanced to fall within your notice, unleſs indeed it had ſome tendency to procure a ſchool-fellow a whipping. I have often remarked your lordſhip with admiration, talking big and bluſtering loud, ſo as to frighten urchins who were about half your lord-ſhip's ſize, when you had no preciſe meaning in any thing you ſaid. And I ſhall never forget, the longeſt day I have to live, when I hugged you in my arms in a kind of prophetic tranſport, in con-

ſequence of your whiſpering me, in the midſt of a room-full of company, in ſo ſly a manner that nobody could obſerve you, that you had juſt ſeen John the coachman beſtow upon Betty the cook-maid, a moſt devout and cordial embrace. From your raweſt infancy you were as much diſtinguiſhed, as Milton repreſents the goddeſs Hebe to have been, by "nods and becks and wreathed ſmiles;" with this difference, that in her they were marks of gaiety, and in you of demureneſs; that in her they were unreſtrained and general, and in you intended only for a ſingle *confidant*. My lord, reflecting upon all theſe circumſtances, it is not to be wondered at that I treated your lordſhip even in clouts with the reverence due to an infant Jove, and always conſidered myſelf as ſuperintending the inſtitution of the firſt ſtateſman that ever exiſted.

But, my lord, it has ever been my opinion, that let nature do as much as ſhe will, it is in the power of education to do ſtill more. The many ſtateſman-like qualities that you brought into the world with you, ſufficiently prove, that no man was ever more deeply indebted to the bounty of nature than your lord-ſhip. And yet of all thoſe qualities ſhe has beſtowed upon you, there is not one that I hold in half ſo much eſteem, as that docility, which has ever induced you to receive my inſtructions with implicit veneration. It is true, my coat is fuſtian, and my whole accoutrement plebeian. My ſhoes are clouted, and it is long ſince the wig that defends this penetrating brain, could boaſt a crooked hair. But you, my lord, have been able to diſcover the fruit through the thick and uncomely coat by which it was concealed; you have cracked the nut and have a right to the kernel.

My

My lord, I thought it neceſſary to premiſe theſe obſervations, before I entered upon thoſe important matters of diſquiſition, which will form the object of my preſent epiſtle. It is unneceſſary for me to inform a perſon of ſo much diſcernment as your lordſhip, that education is, by its very nature, a thing of temporary duration. Your lordſhip's education has been long, and there have been cogent reaſons why it ſhould be ſo. God grant, that when left to walk the world alone, you be not betrayed into any of thoſe unlucky blunders, from the very verge of which my provident hand has often redeemed your lordſhip! Do not miſtake me, my lord, when I talk of the greatneſs of your talents. It is now too late to flatter: This is no time for diſguiſe. Pardon me therefore, my dear and ever-honoured pupil, if I may ſeem to offend againſt thoſe minuter laws of etiquette, which were made only for com-

common caſes. At ſo important a criſis it is neceſſary to be plain.

Your lordſhip is very cunning, but I never imagined that you were remarkably wiſe. The talents you received at your birth, if we were to ſpeak with mathematical ſtrictneſs, ſhould rather be denominated knacks, than abilities. They conſiſt rather in a lucky dexterity of face, and a happy conformation of limb, than in any very elevated capacities of the intellect. Upon that ſcore, my lord,—you know I am fond of compariſons, and I think I have hit upon one in this caſe, that muſt be acknowledged remarkably appoſite. I have ſometimes ſeen a ditch, the water of which, though really ſhallow, has appeared to careleſs obſervers to be very deep, for no other reaſon but becauſe it was muddy. Believe me, my lord, experienced and penetrating obſervers are not ſo to be taken in.

But,

But, as I was ſaying, education is a temporary thing, and your lordſhip's, however laſting and laborious, is at length brought to a period. My lord, if it ſo pleaſes the ſovereign diſpoſer of all things, I ſhould be very well ſatisfied to remain in this ſublunary ſtate for ſome years longer, if it were only that I might live to rejoice in the exemplification of my precepts in the conduct of my pupil. But, if this boon be granted to my merits and my prayers, at any rate I ſhall from this moment retire from the world. From henceforth my *ſecret influence* is brought to its cloſe. I will no longer be the unſeen original of the grand movements of the figures that fill the political ſtage. I will ſtand aloof from the giddy herd. I will not ſtray from my little vortex. I will look down upon the tranſactions of courts and miniſters, like an etherial being from a ſuperior element. There I ſhall hope to ſee your lordſhip outſtrip your contemporaries,

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and tower above the pigmies of the day. To repeat an idea before delivered, might be unbecoming in a fine writer, but it is characteriſtic and beautiful under the perſonage of a preceptor. The fitneſſes which nature beſtowed upon your frame would not have done alone. But joined with the leſſons I have taught you, they cannot fail, unleſs I groſsly flatter myſelf, to make the part which your lordſhip ſhall act ſufficiently conſpicuous.

Receive then, my lord, with that docility and veneration, which have at all times made the remembrance of you pleaſant and reviving to my heart, the laſt communications of the inſtructor of your choice. Yes, my lord, from henceforth you ſhall ſee me, you ſhall hear from me no more. From this conſideration I infer one reaſon why you ſhould deeply reflect upon the precepts I have now to offer. Remembering that theſe little ſheets are all the legacy my affection

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can beſtow upon you, I ſhall concenter in them the very quinteſſence and epitome of all my wiſdom. I ſhall provide in them a particular antidote to thoſe defects to which nature has made you moſt propenſe.

But I have yet another reaſon to inforce your attention to what I am about to write. I was, as I have ſaid, the inſtructor of your choice. When I had yet remained neglected in the world, when my honours were withered by the hand of poverty, when my bloſſoms appeared in the eyes of thoſe who ſaw me of the moſt brown and wintery complexion, and, if your lordſhip will allow me to finiſh the metaphor, when I ſtank in their noſes, it was then that your lordſhip remarked and diſtinguiſhed me. Your bounty it was that firſt revived my native pride. It is true that it ran in a little dribbling rivulet, but ſtill it was much to me. Even before you were

able to afford me any real aſſiſtance, you were always ready to offer me a corner of your gingerbread, or a marble from your hoard. Your lordſhip had at all times a taſte for ſumptuouſneſs and magnificence, but you knew how to limit your natural propenſity in conſideration of the calls of affinity, and to give your farthings to your friends.

Do not then, my dear lord, belie the firſt and earlieſt ſentiments of your heart. As you have ever heard me, let your attention be tripled now. Read my letter once and again. Preſerve it as a ſacred depoſit. Lay it under your pillow. Meditate upon it faſting. Commit it to memory, and repeat the ſcattered parcels of it, as Cæſar is ſaid to have done the Greek alphabet, to cool your riſing choler. Be this the amulet to preſerve you from danger! Be this the chart by which to ſteer the little ſkiff of your political ſyſ-

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tem ſafe into the port of hiſtoric immortality!

My lord, you and I have read Machiavel together. It is true I am but a bungler in Italian, and your lordſhip was generally obliged to interpret for me. Your tranſlation I dare ſay was always ſcientifical, but I was ſeldom ſo happy as to ſee either grammar or ſenſe in it. So far however as I can gueſs at the drift of this celebrated author, he ſeems to have written as the profeſſor of only one ſcience. He has treated of the art of government, and has enquired what was wiſe, and what was political. He has left the moraliſts to take care of themſelves.

In the preſent eſſay, my lord, I ſhall follow the example of Machiavel. I profeſs the ſame ſcience, and I pretend only to have carried to much greater heights an art to which he has given a

conſiderable degree of perfection. Your lordſhip has had a great number of maſters. Your excellent father, who himſelf had ſome dabbling in politics, ſpared no expence upon your education, though I believe he had by no means ſo high an opinion of your genius and abilities as I entertained. Your lordſhip therefore is to be preſumed competently verſed in the rudiments of ethics. You have read Grotius, Puffendorf, and Cumberland. For my part I never opened a volume of any one of them. I am ſelf-taught. My ſcience originates entirely in my unbounded penetration, and a ſort of divine and ſupernatural afflatus. With all this your lordſhip knows I am a modeſt man. I have never preſumed to entrench upon the province of others. Let the profeſſors of ethics talk their nonſenſe. I will not interrupt them. I will not endeavour to ſet your lordſhip againſt them. It is neceſſary for me to take politics upon an unlimited ſcale, and

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to ſuppoſe that a ſtateſman has no character to preſerve but that of ſpecioufneſs and plauſibility. But it is your lordſhip's buſineſs to enquire whether this be really the caſe.

I need not tell you, that I ſhall not, like the political writers with which you are acquainted, talk in the air. My inſtructions will be of a practical nature, and my rules adapted to the preſent condition of the Engliſh government. That government is at preſent conſiderably, though imperfectly, a ſyſtem of liberty. To ſuch a ſyſtem the moſt eſſential maxim is, that the governors ſhall be accountable and amenable to the governed. This principle has ſometimes been denominated reſponſibility. Reſponſibility in a republican government is carried as high as poſſible. In a limited monarchy it ſtops at the firſt miniſters, the immediate ſervants of the crown. Now to this ſyſtem nothing can be more fatal,

than

than for the public meaſures not really to originate with adminiſtration, but with ſecret adviſers who cannot be traced. This is to cut all the nerves of government, to looſen all the ſprings of liberty, to make the conſtitution totter to its loweſt foundations.

I ſay this, my lord, not to terrify your lordſhip. The ſtudents and the imitators of Machiavel muſt not be frightened with bugbears. Beſide, were cowardice as congenial to the feelings of your lordſhip as I confeſs it has ſometimes been to mine, cowardice itſelf is not ſo apt to be terrified with threats hung up *in terrorem*, and menaces of a vague and general nature. It trembles only at a danger definite and impending. It is the dagger at the throat, it is the piſtol at the breaſt, that ſhakes her nerves. Prudence is alarmed at a diſtance, and calls up all her exertion. But cowardice is ſhort-ſighted, and was never productive of any

ſalutary

ſalutary effort. I ſay not this therefore to intimidate, but to excite you. I would teach you, that this is a moſt important ſtep indeed, is the grand *deſideratum* in order to exalt the Engliſh monarchy to a par with the glorious one of France, or any other abſolute monarchy in Chriſtendom.

In order, my lord, to annihilate reſponſibility, nothing more is neceſſary than that every individual ſhould be as free, and as much in the habit of adviſing the king upon the meaſures of government, as his miniſters. Let every diſcarded, and let every would-be ſtateſman, ſow diſſention in the royal councils, and pour the poiſon of his diſcontent into the royal ear. Let the cabinet ring with a thouſand jarring ſentiments; and let the ſubtleſt courtier, let him that is the moſt perfect maſter of wheedling arts and pathetic tones, carry it from every rival. This, my lord, will probably create ſome

confuſion

confuſion at firſt. The ſyſtem of government will appear, not a regular and proportioned beauty, like the pheaſant of India, but a gaudy and glaring ſyſtem of unconnected parts, like Eſop's daw with borrowed feathers. Anarchy and darkneſs will be the original appearance. But light ſhall ſpring out of the noon of night; harmony and order ſhall ſucceed the chaos. The preſent patchwork of three different forms of government ſhall be changed into one ſimple and godlike ſyſtem of deſpotiſm. Thus, when London was burned, a more commodious and healthful city ſprung as it were out of her aſhes.

But neither Rome nor London was built in a day. The glorious work I am recommending to you muſt be a work of time. At firſt it will be neceſſary for the perſon who would ſubvert the the ſilly ſyſtem of Engliſh government, to enter upon his undertaking with infinite

timidity and precaution. He muſt ſtalk along in ſilence like Tarquin to the rape of Lucretia. His horſes, like thoſe of Lear, muſt be ſhoed with felt. He muſt ſhroud himſelf in the thickeſt ſhade. Let him comfort himſelf with this reflexion: "It "is but for a time. It will ſoon be "over. No work of mortal hands can "long ſtand againſt concuſſions ſo vio-"lent. Ulyſſes, who entered Troy, ſhut "up in the cincture of the wooden horſe, "ſhall ſoon burſt the encloſure, ſhall "terrify thoſe from whoſe obſervation "he lately ſhrunk, and carry devaſtation "and ruin on whatever ſide he turns."

My lord, I have conſidered the ſubject of politics with as much acuteneſs as any man. I have revolved a thouſand ſchemes, which to recommend to the purſuit of the ſtateſman of my own creation. But there is no plan of action that appears to me half ſo grand and comprehenſive, as this of *ſecret influence*. It is true the ſcheme is not entirely new.

It has been a ſubject of diſcuſſion ever ſince the Engliſh nation could boaſt any thing like a regular ſyſtem of liberty. It was complained of under king William. It was boaſted of, even to oſtentation, by the Tory miniſters of queen Anne. The Pelhams cried out upon it in lord Carteret. It has been the buſineſs of half the hiſtory of the preſent reign to fix the charge upon my lord Bute.

And yet in ſpite of theſe appearances, in ſpite of all the deductions that modeſty can authoriſe, I may boldly affirm that my ſcheme has ſomething in it that is truly original. My lord, I would not have you proceed by leaps and ſtarts, like theſe half-fledged ſtateſmen. I would have you proceed from ſtep to ſtep in a finiſhed and faultleſs plan. I have too an improvement without which the firſt ſtep is of no value, which yet has ſeldom been added, which at firſt ſight has a very daring appearance, but which

I pretend to teach your lordſhip to practiſe with perfect ſafety. But it is neceſſary for me, before I come to this grand *arcanum* of my ſyſtem, to premiſe a few obſervations for the more accurately managing the influence itſelf.

My lord, there are a variety of things neceſſary to abſolute ſecrecy. There is nothing more inconvenient to a political character than that groſs and unmanageable quantity of fleſh and blood that fortune has decreed that every mortal ſhould carry about with him. The man who is properly initiated in the *arcana* of a cloſet, ought to be able to ſqueeze himſelf through a key hole, and, whenever any impertinent Marplot appears to blaſt him, to change this unwieldy frame into the ſubſtance of the viewleſs winds. How often muſt a theoretical ſtateſman like myſelf, have regretted that incomparable invention, the ring of Gyges! How often muſt he have wiſhed to be poſſeſſed

of one of thoſe diabolical forms, deſcribed by Milton, which now were taller than the pole, and anon could ſhrink into the compaſs of an atom!

But I forget the characteriſtic of my profeſſion. It is not ours, my lord, to live in air-built caſtles, and to deal in imaginary hypotheſes. On the contrary, we are continually talking of the weakneſs and the frailty of humanity. Does any man impeach one of our body of bribery and corruption? We confeſs that theſe practices may ſeem to run counter with the fine-ſpun ſyſtems of morality; but this is our conſtant apology, human affairs can be no otherwiſe managed. Does any man ſuggeſt the moſt beautiful ſcheme of œconomy, or preſent us with the moſt perfect model of liberty? We turn away with a ſneer, and tell him that all this is plauſible and pretty; but that we do not concern ourſelves

ſelves with any thing but what is practicable.

In conformity to theſe ideas, I beg leave, my lord, to recal the fantaſtic wiſhes that have juſt eſcaped me. To be corporeal is our irrevocable fate, and we will not waſte our time in fruitleſsly accuſing it. My lord, I have one or two little expedients to offer to you, which, though they do not amount to a perfect remedy in this caſe, will yet, I hope, prove a tolerable ſubſtitute for thoſe diabolical forms of which I was talking.

I need not put your lordſhip in mind how friendly to ſuch practices as ours, is the cover of darkneſs, and how convenient thoſe little machines commonly called back-ſtairs. I dare ſay even your lordſhip, however inconſequently you may often conduct yourſelf, would ſcarcely think of mid-day as the moſt proper ſeaſon of concealment, or the paſſing through

through a crowded levee, the moſt natural method of entering the royal cloſet unobſerved.

But, my lord, you will pleaſe to recollect, that there are certain attendants upon the perſon of the ſovereign whom I find claſſed in that epitome of political wiſdom, the Red Book, under the name of pages. Moſt wiſe is the inſtitution, (and your lordſhip will obſerve that I am not now deviating into the regions of fable) which is common to all the Eaſtern courts, of having theſe offices filled by perſons, who, upon peril of their life, may not, in any circumſtances whatſoever, utter a word. But unfortunately in the weſtern climates in which we reſide, the thing is otherwiſe. The inſtitution of mutes is unknown to us. The lips of our pages have never been inured to the wholeſome diſcipline of the padlock. They are as loquacious, and blab as much as other men. You know, my lord, that

that I am fond of illuſtrating the principles I lay down by the recital of facts. The laſt, and indeed the only time that I ever entered the metropolis, I remember, as my barber was removing the hair from my nether lip:—My barber had all that impertinent communicativeneſs that is incident to the gentlemen of his profeſſion; he aſſured me, that he had ſeen that morning one of the pages of the back-ſtairs, who declared to him, upon the word of a man of honour, that he had that moment admitted a certain nobleman by a private door to the preſence of his maſter; that the face of the noble lord was perfectly familiar to him, and that he had let him in ſome fifty times in the courſe of the paſt ſix months. "How "ſilly is all this!" added the page; "and "how glad ſhould I be," licking his lips, "that it were but an opera girl or a "counteſs! And yet my miſtreſs is the "very beſt miſtreſs that ever I ſee!" *Oh this was poor, and ſhowed a pitiful ambi-*

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tion in the man that did it! I will ſwear, my lord, that the nobleman who could thus have been betrayed, muſt have been a thick-headed fellow, and fit for no one public office, not even for that of *turnſpit of his majeſty's kitchen!**

My lord, if you would eſcape that rock, upon which this ſtateſman terminated his political career, ever while you live make uſe of bribery. Let the pages finger your caſh, let them drink your health in a glaſs of honeſt claret, and let them chuckle over the effects of your lordſhip's munificence. I know that you will pour forth many a pathetic complaint over the money that is drawn off by this copious receiver, but believe the wiſeſt man that now exiſts, when he aſſures you, that it is well beſtowed. Your lordſhip's bounty to myſelf has ſometimes amounted to near ten

* Vide Burke's Speech upon Œconomy.

pounds

pounds in the courſe of a twelvemonth. That drain, my lord, is ſtopped. I ſhall receive from you no more. Let then the expence, which you once incurred for my ſake, be henceforth diverted to this valuable purpoſe.

I believe, my lord, that this is all the improvement that can be made upon the head of pages. I think we can ſcarcely venture upon the expedient that would otherwiſe be admirable, of theſe interviews being carried on without the intervention of any ſuch impertinent fellows, from whom one is ever in danger, without the ſmalleſt notice, of having it publiſhed at St. James's-Market, and proclaimed from the ſtatue at Charing-Croſs. If however you ſhould think this expedient adviſeable, I would recommend it to you not to mention it to your gracious maſter. Courts are ſo incumbered and hedged in with ceremony, that the members of them are

always prone to imagine that the form is more eſſential and indiſpenſable, than the ſubſtance. Suppoſe then, my lord, you were, by one of thoſe ſly opportunities, which you know ſo well how to command, to take off the key in wax, and get a picklock key made exactly upon the model of it. The end, my lord, take my word for it, would abundantly ſanctify the apparent ſordidneſs of the means. In this ſituation I cannot help picturing to myſelf the ſurpriſe and the joy, that would be in a moment lighted up in the countenance of your friend. Your rencounter would be as unexpected and fortunate as that of Lady Randolph and her ſon, when ſhe fears every moment to have him murdered by Glenalvon. You would fly into each others arms, and almoſt ſmother one another in your mutual embrace.

But another thing that is abundantly worthy of your lordſhip's attention, is the

the ſubject of diſguiſes and dark lanthorns. Harley, afterwards earl of Oxford, was in the practice, if I remember right, for it is ſome time ſince I read Dr. Swift's political pamphlets, of croſſing the park in a horſeman's coat. But this is too ſhallow and thin a diſguiſe. A maſk, on the other hand, might perhaps be too particular. Though indeed at midnight, which is the only time that I would recommend to your lordſhip in which to approach within a hundred yards of the palace, it might probably paſs without much obſervation. A ſlouched hat, and a bob wig, your lordſhip may at any time venture upon. But there is nothing that is of ſo much importance in this affair as variety. I would ſometimes put on the turban of a Turk, and ſometimes the half breeches of a Highlander. I would ſometimes wear the lawn ſleeves of a biſhop, and ſometimes the tye-wig of a barriſter. A leathern apron and a trowel might upon

occaſion be of ſovereign efficacy. The long beard and neglected dreſs of a Shylock ſhould be admitted into the liſt. I would alſo occaſionally lay aſide the ſmall clothes, and aſſume the dreſs of a woman. I would often trip it along with the appearance and geſture of a ſpruce milliner; and I would often ſtalk with the ſolemn air and ſweeping train of a ducheſs. But of all the infinite ſhapes of human dreſs, I muſt confeſs that my favourite is the kind of doublet that prince Harry wore when he aſſaulted Falſtaff. The nearer it approaches to the guiſe of a common carman the better, and his long whip ought to be inſeparable. If you could add to it the ſooty appearance of a coal-heaver, or a chimney-ſweep, it would ſit, upon this more precious than velvet garb, like ſpangles and lace. I need not add, that to a mind of elegance and ſenſibility, the emblematical alluſion which this dreſs would carry to the ſecrecy and impe-

impenetrableneſs of the perſon that wears it, muſt be the ſource of a delightful and exquiſite ſenſation.

And now, my lord, for the laſt head, which it is neceſſary to mention under this diviſion of my ſubject, I mean that of lanthorns. Twenty people, I doubt not, whom your lordſhip might conſult upon this occaſion, would adviſe you to go without any lanthorn at all. Beware of this, my lord. It is a raſh and a thoughtleſs advice. It may poſſibly be a falſe and inſidious one. Your lordſhip will never think of going always in the ſame broad and frequented path. Many a cauſeway you will have to croſs, many a dark and winding alley to tread. Suppoſe, my lord, the pavement were to be torn up, and your lordſhip were to break your ſhin! Suppoſe a drain were to have been opened in the preceding day, without your knowing any thing of the matter,

and

and your lordſhip were to break your neck! Suppoſe, which is more terrible than all the reſt, you were to ſet your foot upon that which I dare not name, and by offending the olfactory nerves of majeſty, you were to forfeit his affections for ever!

So much, my lord, by way of declamation againſt the abolition of lanthorns. Your lordſhip however does not imagine I ſhall ſay any thing upon affairs ſo common as the glaſs lanthorn, the horn lanthorn, and the perforated tin lanthorn. This laſt indeed is moſt to my purpoſe, but it will not do, my lord, it will not do. There is a kind of lanthorns, your lordſhip has ſeen them, that have one ſide dark, and the other light. I remember to have obſerved your lordſhip, for half a day together, poring over the picture of Guy Faux, in the Book of Martyrs. This was one of the early intimations which my wiſdom enabled me

me to remark of the deſtination which nature had given you. You know, my lord, that the poſſeſſor of this lanthorn can turn it this way and that, as he pleaſes. He can contrive accurately to diſcern the countenance of every other perſon, without being viſible himſelf. I need not enlarge to your lordſhip upon the admirable uſes of this machine. I will only add, that my very dear and ever-lamented friend, Mr. Pinchbeck, effected before he died an improvement upon it ſo valuable, that it cannot but preſerve his name from that oblivious power, by which common names are devoured. In his lanthorn, the ſhade, which uſed to be inſeparable, may be taken away at the poſſeſſor's pleaſure, like the head of a whiſky, and it may appear to all intents and purpoſes one of the common vehicles of the kind. He had alſo a contrivance, never to be ſufficiently commended, that when the ſnuff of the candle had attained a cer-

tain

tain length, it moved a kind of automatous pair of ſnuffers that hung within ſide, and amputated itſelf. He left me two of theſe lanthorns as a legacy. Such is my value for your lordſhip, that I have wrought myſelf up to a reſolution of parting with one of them in your lordſhip's favour. You will receive it in four days from the date of this by Gines's waggon, that puts up in Holborn.

But, my lord, there is a ſecond object of conſideration ſtill more important than this. It is in vain for your lordſhip, or any other perſon, to perſuade the ſovereign againſt any of the meaſures of his government, unleſs you can add to this the diſcovery of thoſe new ſentiments you have inſtilled, to all ſuch as it may concern. It is the buſineſs of every Machiavelian miniſter, ſuch as your lordſhip, both from nature and choice, is inclined to be, to prop the cauſe of de-

ſpotiſm. In order to this, the dignity of the ſovereign is not to be committed, but exalted. To bring forward the royal perſon to put a negative upon any bill in parliament, is a moſt inartificial mode of proceeding. It marks too accurately the ſtrides of power, and awakens too pointedly the attention of the multitude. Your lordſhip has heard that the houſe of lords is the barrier between the king and the people. There is a ſenſe of this phraſe, of which I am wonderfully fond. The diſſemination of the royal opinion will at any time create a majority in that houſe, to divert the odium from the perſon of the monarch. Twenty-two biſhops, thirteen lords of the bed-chamber, and all the rabble of houſehold troops, will at any time compoſe an army. They may not indeed cover an acre of ground, nor would I adviſe your lordſhip to diſtribute them into a great number of regiments. Their countenances are not the moſt terrific

that were ever beheld, and it might be proper to officer them with perſons of more ſagacity than themſelves. But under all this meekneſs of appearance, and innocence of underſtanding, believe me, my lord, they are capable of keeping at bay the commons and the people of England united in one cauſe, for a conſiderable time. They have been too long at the beck of a miniſter, not to be ſomewhat callous in their feelings. And they are too numerous, not to have ſhoulders capacious enough to bear all the obloquy, with which their conduct may be attended.

But then, my lord, as I would not recommend it to you to bring into practice the royal negative, ſo neither perhaps would it be adviſable for the ſovereign, to inſtruct thoſe lords immediately attendant upon him, in perſon. Kings, you are not to be informed, are to be managed and humoured by thoſe that

that would win their confidence. If your lordſhip could invent a ſort of down, more ſoft and yielding than has yet been employed, it might be ſomething. But to point out to your maſter, that he muſt ſay this, and write that, that he muſt ſend for one man, and break with another, is an unpleaſant and ungrateful office. It muſt be your buſineſs to take the burden from his ſhoulders. You muſt ſmooth the road you would have him take, and ſtrew with flowers the path of ruin. If he favour your ſchemes with a ſmile of approbation, if he beſtow upon your proceedings the ſanction of a nod, it is enough. It is godlike fortitude, and heroic exertion.

But ſecrecy is the very eſſence of deep and inſidious conduct. I would adviſe your lordſhip to bring even your own name into queſtion, as little as poſſible. My lord Cheſterfield compares a ſtateſman, who has been celebrated for

influence during the greateſt part of the the preſent reign, to the oſtrich. The brain of an oſtrich, your lordſhip will pleaſe to obſerve, though he be the largeſt of birds, may very eaſily be included in the compaſs of a nut-ſhell. When purſued by the hunters, he is ſaid to bury his head in the ſand, and having done this, to imagine that he cannot be diſcovered by the keeneſt ſearch. Do not you, my lord, imitate the manners of the oſtrich. Believe me, they are ungraceful; and, if maturely conſidered, will perhaps appear to be a little ſilly.

There is a contrivance that has occurred to me, which, if it were not accompanied with a circumſtance ſomewhat out of date, appears to me in the higheſt degree admirable. Suppoſe you were to treat the lords of the bedchamber with a ſight of St. Paul's cathedral? There is a certain part of it of a circular form, commonly called the whiſpering gallery.

You

You have probably heard, that by the uncommon echo of this place, the weakeſt ſound that can poſſibly be articulated, is increaſed by that time it has gone half round, into a ſound, audible and ſtrong. Your lordſhip, with your flock of geeſe about you, would probably be frolic and gameſome. You may eaſily contrive to ſcatter them through the whole circumference of this apartment. Of a ſudden, you will pleaſe to turn your face to the wall, and utter in a ſolemn tone the royal opinion. Every body will be at a loſs from whence the mandate proceeds. Some of your companions, more gooſe-like than the reſt, will probably imagine it a voice from heaven. The ſentence muſt be two or three times repeated at proper intervals, before you can contrive to have each of the lords in turn at the required diſtance. This will demand a conſiderable degree of alertneſs and agility. But alertneſs and agility are qualities by which

which your lordſhip is ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed, that I ſhould have very few apprehenſions about your ſucceſs. Meanwhile it will be proper to have a ſelect number of footmen ſtationed at the door of the gallery, armed with ſmelling-bottles. Some of your friends, I ſuſpect, would be ſo much alarmed at this celeſtial and ghoſt-like phenomenon, as to render this part of the plan of ſingular ſervice.

But after all, I am apprehenſive that many of the noble lords to whom I allude, would be diſguſted at the very mention of any thing ſo old-faſhioned and city-like, as a viſit to this famous cathedral. And even if that were not the caſe, it is proper to be provided with more than one ſcheme for the execution of ſo neceſſary a purpoſe. The queſtion is of no contemptible magnitude, between inſtructions *viva voce*, and a circular letter. In favour of the firſt it may

may be ſaid, that a letter is the worſt and moſt definite evidence to a man's diſadvantage that can be conceived. It may eaſily be traced. It can ſcarcely be denied. The ſenſe of it cannot readily be explained away.—It muſt be confeſſed there is ſomething in this; and yet, my lord, I am by all means for a letter. A voice may often be overheard. I remember my poor old goody uſed to ſay, (heaven reſt her ſoul!) That walls had ears. There are ſome lords, my dear friend, that can never think of being alone. Bugbears are ever ſtarting up in their prolific imagination, and they cannot be for a moment in the dark, without expecting the devil to fly away with them. They have ſome uſeful pimp, ſome favourite toad-eater, that is always at their elbow. Ever remember, ſo long as you live, that toad-eaters are treacherous friends. Beſide, it would be a little ſuſpicious, to ſee your lordſhip's carriage making a regular tour from

from door to door among the lords of the bed-chamber. And I would by no means have Pinchbeck's dark-lanthorn brought into common uſe. Conſider, my lord, when that is worn out, you will not know where to get ſuch another.

A letter may be diſguiſed in various ways. You would certainly never think of ſigning your name. You might have it tranſcribed by your ſecretary. But then this would be to commit your ſafety and your fame to the keeping of another. No, my lord, there are ſchemes worth a hundred of this. Conſider the various hands in which a letter may be written. There is the round hand, and the Italian hand, the text hand, and the running hand. You may form your letters upon the Roman or the Italic model. Your billet may be engroſſed. You may employ the German text or the old primero. If I am not miſtaken, your

lordſhip ſtudied all theſe when you were a boy for this very purpoſe. Yes, my lord, I may be in the wrong, but I am confidently of opinion, that this is abſolutely the firſt, moſt important, and moſt indiſpenſible accompliſhment of a ſtateſman. I would forgive him, if he did not know a cornet from an enſign, I would forgive him, if he thought Italy a province of Aſia Minor. But not to write primero! the nincompoop! the numbſcul!

If it were not that the perſons with whom your lordſhip has to correſpond, can ſome of them barely ſpell their native tongue, I would recommend to your lordſhip the uſe of cyphers. But no, you might as well write the language of the Mantcheux Tartars. For conſider, your letters may be intercepted. It is true, they have not many perils to undergo. They are not handed from poſt-houſe to poſt-houſe. There are no im-

pertinent office-keepers to inſpect them by land. There are no privateers to capture them by ſea. But, my lord, they have perils to encounter, the very recollection of which makes me tremble to the inmoſt fibre of my frame. They are ale-houſes, my lord. Think for a moment of the clattering of porter-pots, and the ſcream of my goodly hoſteſs. Imagine that the blazing fire ſmiles through the impenetrable window, and that the kitchen ſhakes with the peals of laughter. Theſe are temptations, my lord, that no mortal porter can withſtand. When the unvaried countenance of his gracious ſovereign ſmiles invitation upon him from the weather beaten ſign-poſt, what loyal heart but muſt be melted into compliance.

From all theſe conſiderations, my lord, I would adviſe you to write with inviſible ink. Milk I believe will ſerve the purpoſe, though I am afraid, that the milk

milk that is hawked about the ſtreets of London, has rather too much water in it. The juice of lemon is a ſovereign recipe. There are a variety of other preparations that will anſwer the purpoſe. But theſe may be learned from the moſt vulgar and acceſſible ſources of information. And you will pleaſe to obſerve, that I ſuffer nothing to creep into this political teſtament, more valuable than thoſe of Richelieu, Mazarine, and Alberoni, that is not entirely original matter. My lord, I defy you to learn a ſingle particular of the refinements here communicated from the greateſt ſtateſman that lives. They talk of Fox! He would give his right hand for an atom of them!

I will now ſuppoſe you, my lord, by all theſe artifices, arrived at the very threſhold of power. I will ſuppoſe that you have juſt defeated the grandeſt and the wiſeſt meaſure of your political anta-

goniſts. I think there is nothing more natural, though the rule will admit of many exceptions, than for people who act uniformly in oppoſition to each other, upon public grounds, to be of oppoſite characters and diſpoſitions. I will therefore imagine, that, ſhocked with the boundleſs extortions and the relentleſs cruelties that have been practiſed in ſome diſtant part of the empire, they came forward with a meaſure full of generous oblivion for the paſt, providing with circumſpect and collected humanity for the future. I will ſuppoſe, that they were deſirous of taking an impotent government out of the hands of Jews and pedlars, old women and minors, and to render it a part of the great ſyſtem. I will ſuppoſe, that they were deſirous of transferring political power from a company of rapacious and intereſted merchants, into the hands of ſtateſmen, men diſtinguiſhed among a thouſand parties for clear integrity, diſintereſted virtue, and

ſpotleſs fame. This, my lord, would be a field worthy of your lordſhip's proweſs. Could you but gain the intereſted, could you eternize rapacity, and preſerve inviolate the blot of the Engliſh name, what laurels would not your lordſhip deſerve?

I will therefore ſuppoſe, that your gracious maſter meets you with a *carte blanche*, that he is diſpoſed to liſten to all your advices, and to adopt all your counſels. Your lordſhip is aware that the road of ſecret influence, and that of popular favour, are not exactly the ſame. No miniſtry can long preſerve their ſeats unleſs they poſſeſs the confidence of a majority of the houſe of commons. The miniſtry therefore againſt which your lordſhip acts, we will take it for granted are in this predicament. In this ſituation then an important queſtion naturally ariſes. Either a majority in the houſe of commons muſt be purchaſed at any

any rate, or the government muſt be conducted in defiance of that houſe, or thirdly, the parliament muſt be diſſolved. Excluſive of theſe three, I can conceive of no alternative. We will therefore examine each in its turn.

Shall a majority in the houſe of commons be created? Much may be ſaid on both ſides. A very ingenious friend of mine, for whoſe counſels I have an uncommon deference, aſſured me, that nothing would be ſo eaſy as this. Obſerving with a ſhrewdneſs that aſtoniſhed me, that miniſtry, upon a late moſt important queſtion, muſtered no more than 250 votes, and that there were 558 members, he inferred, that you had nothing more to do than to ſend for thoſe that were abſent out of the country, and you might have upwards of 300 to pit againſt the 250. It is with infinite regret that I ever ſuffer myſelf to diſſent from the opinion of this gentleman. But

ſuppoſe,

ſuppoſe, my lord, which is at leaſt poſſible, that one half of the abſentees ſhould be friends to the cauſe of the people; what would become of us then? There remains indeed the obvious method of purchaſing votes, and it might be ſuppoſed that your lordſhip's talent of inſinuation might do you knight's ſervice in this buſineſs. But no, my lord, many of theſe country gentlemen are at bottom no better than boors. A mechlin cravat and a ſmirking countenance, upon which your lordſhip builds ſo much, would be abſolutely unnoticed by them. I am afraid of riſquing my credit with your lordſhip, but I can aſſure you, that I have heard that one of theſe fellows has been known to fly from a nobleman covered with lace, and powdered, and perfumed to the very tip of the mode, to follow the ſtandard of a commoner whoſe coat has been ſtained with claret, and who has not had a ruffle to his ſhirt. My lord, if common fame may be truſted,

ed, theſe puppies are literally taſteleſs enough to admire wit, though the man who utters it be ever ſo corpulent, and to diſcover eloquence in the mouth of one, who can ſuffer himſelf to ſpit in an honourable aſſembly. I am a plain man, my lord; but I really think that among marquiſſes and dukes, right honourables and right reverends, theſe things are intolerable.

I would therefore have your lordſhip give up at once, and with a grace, the very idea of bringing over to your ſide the partiſans of theſe huge ſlovenly fellows. The ſcheme of governing the country without taking the houſe of commons along with you, is much more feaſible than this. This might be done by paſſing an act of parliament by the authority of two eſtates of the realm, to declare the houſe of commons uſeleſs. For my part, I am far from thinking this ſo bold a ſtep as by ſome it may be imagined.

gined. Was not Rome a free ſtate, though it had no houſe of commons? Has not the Britiſh houſe of commons been inceſſantly exclaimed upon, as corrupt and nugatory? Has not a reform reſpecting them been called for from all quarters of the kingdom? I am much of opinion in the preſent caſe, that that is the moſt effectual reform, which goes to the root. Rome had her hereditary nobility, which compoſed her ſenate. She had her conſuls, an ill-imagined ſubſtitute for monarchical power. In theſe, my lord, was comprehended, in a manner, the whole of her government. I ſhall be told indeed that they had occaſionally their *comitia*, or aſſemblies of the citizens of the metropolis. But this is ſo far from an objection to my reaſoning, that it furniſhes me with a very valuable hint for the improvement of the Engliſh conſtitution.

Let the preſent houſe of commons be caſhiered, and let the common council of the city of London be placed at St. Stephen's chapel in their room. Theſe your lordſhip will find a much more worthy and manageable ſet of people, than the repreſentatives of the nation at large. And can any ſenſible man doubt for a moment, which are the moſt reſpectable body of men? Examine their perſons. Among their predeceſſors I ſee many poor, lank, ſhriveled, half-ſtarved things, ſome bald, ſome with a few ſtraggling hairs, and ſome with an enormous bag, pendant from no hair at all. Turn, my lord, to the other ſide. There you will ſee a good, comely, creditable race of people. They look like brothers. As their ſize and figure are the ſame, ſo by the fire in their eyes, and the expreſſion in their countenances, you could ſcarcely know one of them from another. Their very gowns are enough to ſtrike terror into

the moſt inattentive. Each of them covers his *cranium* with a venerable periwig, whoſe flowing curls and voluminous frizure beſpeak wealth and contentment. Their faces are buxom, and their cheeks are florid.

You will alſo, my lord, find them much more eaſy and tractable, than the ſqueamiſh, fretful, diſcontented wretches, with which other miniſters have had to do. There is but one expence that will be requiſite. It is uniform, and capable of an eaſy calculation. In any great and trying queſtion, I was going to ſay debate, but debates, I am apt to think, would not be very frequent, or very animated,—your lordſhip has nothing to do, but to clear the table of the rolls and parchments, with which it is generally covered, and ſpreading a table cloth, place upon it half a ſcore immenſe turtles, ſmoking hot, and larded with green fat. My lord, I will forfeit

my head, if with this perfume regaling their noſtrils, a ſingle man has reſolution enough to divide the houſe, or to declare his diſcontent with any of the meaſures of government, by going out into the lobby.

So much, my lord, for this ſcheme. It is too conſiderable to be adopted without deliberation; it is too important, and too plauſible, to be rejected without examination. The only remaining hypotheſis is that of a diſſolution. Much, I know, may be ſaid againſt this meaſure; but, for my own part, next to the new and original ſyſtem I have had the honour of opening to your lordſhip, it is with me a conſiderable favourite. Thoſe, whoſe intereſts it is to raiſe an outcry againſt it, will exclaim, "What, "for the petty and ſiniſter purpoſes "of ambition, ſhall the whole nation "be thrown into uproar and confuſion? "Who is it that complains of the "preſent

" preſent houſe of parliament? Is the
" voice of the people raiſed againſt it?
" Do petitions come up from every
" quarter of the kingdom, as they did,
" to no purpoſe, a few years ago, for
" its diſſolution? But it is the prero-
" gative of the king to diſſolve his par-
" liament. And becauſe it is his pre-
" rogative, becauſe he has a power of
" this kind reſerved for ſingular emer-
" gencies, does it follow, that this power
" is to be exerciſed at caprice, and
" without weighty and comprehenſive
" reaſons? It may happen, that the
" parliament is in the midſt of its
" ſeſſion, that the very exiſtence of re-
" venue may be unprovided for, and the
" urgent claims of humanity unfulfilled.
" It is of little conſequence," they will perhaps pretend, " who is in, and who
" is out, ſo the national intereſts are
" honeſtly purſued, and the men who
" ſuperintend them be not defective in
" abilities. That then muſt be a moſt

" lawleſs and undiſguiſed ſpirit of ſel-
" fiſhneſs, that can for theſe baubles
" riſk the happineſs of millions, and the
" preſervation of the conſtitution."

All theſe obſervations, my lord, may ſound well enough in the harangue of a demagogue; but is it for ſuch a man, to object to a repetition of that appeal to the people in general, in the frequency and univerſality of which the very exiſtence of liberty conſiſts? Till lately, I think it has been allowed, that one of thoſe reforms moſt favourable to democracy, was an abridgment of the duration of parliaments. But if a general abridgment be ſo deſirable, muſt not every particular abridgment have its value too? Shall the one be acknowledged of a ſalutary, and yet the other be declared of a pernicious tendency? Is it poſſible that the nature of a part, and of the whole, can be not only diſſimilar, but oppoſite? But I will quit theſe general

general and accurate reaſonings. It is not in them that our ſtrength lies.

They tell us, that the meaſure of a diſſolution is an unpopular one. My lord, it is not ſo, that you and I are to be taken in. Picture to yourſelf the very kennels flowing with rivers of beer. Imagine the door of every hoſpitable alehouſe throughout the kingdom, thrown open for the reception of the ragged and pennyleſs burgeſs. Imagine the whole country filled with the ſhouts of drunkenneſs, and the air rent with mingled huzzas. Repreſent the broken heads, and the bleeding noſes, the tattered raiment, and ſtaggering bodies of a million of loyal voters. My lord, will they pretend, that the meaſure that gives birth to this glorious ſcene, is unpopular? We muſt be very ill verſed in the ſcience of human nature, if we could believe them.

But a more important conſideration ariſes. A general election would be of little value, if by means of it a majority of repreſentatives were not to be gained to the ariſtocratical party. If I were to diſadviſe a diſſolution, it would be from the fear of a ſiniſter event. It is true, your lordſhip has a thouſand ſoft blandiſhments. You can ſmile and bow in the neweſt and moſt approved manner. But, my lord, in the midſt of a parcel of Billingſgate fiſhwomen, in the midſt of a circle of butchers with marrow-bones and cleavers, I am afraid theſe accompliſhments would be of little avail. It is he, moſt noble patron, who can ſwallow the greateſt quantity of porter, who can roar the beſt catch, and who is the compleateſt bruiſer, that will finally carry the day. He muſt kiſs the froſt-bitten lips of the green-grocers. He muſt ſmooth the frowzy cheeks of chandlers-ſhop women. He muſt ſtroke down the infinite belly of a Wapping

Wapping landlady. I ſee your lordſhip tremble at the very catalogue. Could you divide yourſelf into a thouſand parts, and every part be ten times more gigantic than the whole, you would ſhrink into non-entity at the diſguſtful ſcene.

In this emergency I can invent only one expedient. Your lordſhip I remember had ſix different ſervices of plate when you were in Ireland, and the duke of P——— could boaſt only of three. You had alſo five footmen and a ſcullion boy more than his grace. By all this magnificence I have been told that you dazzled and enchanted a certain claſs of the good people of that kingdom. My lord, you muſt now improve the popularity you gained. Import by the very firſt hoy a competent number of chairmen. You are not to be told that they are accuſtomed to put on a gold-lace coat as ſoon as they arrive upon our ſhore, and dub themſelves fortune-hunters. It

will be eaſy therefore to paſs them here for gentlemen, whoſe low familiarity ſhall be conſtrued into the moſt raviſhing condeſcenſion. No men, my lord, can drink better than they. There is no conſtitution, but that of an Iriſh chairman, that can diſpenſe with the bouncing whiſky. They are both brawny and courageous, and muſt therefore make excellent bruiſers. Their chief talent lies in the art of courtſhip, and they are by no means nice and ſqueamiſh in their ſtomach for a miſtreſs. They can alſo occaſionally put off the aſſumed character of good breeding, and if it be neceſſary to act over again the celebrated ſcenes of Balfe and M'Quirk, they would not be found at a loſs. My lord, they ſeem to have been created for this very purpoſe, and if you have any hope from a general election, you muſt derive every benefit from their diſtinguiſhed merit. I own however, I am apprehenſive for the experiment, and after all would adviſe your lordſhip to recur

to the very excellent ſcheme of the common-council men.

There is only one point more which it remains for me to diſcuſs. I have already taken it for granted, that you are offered your choice of every poſt that exiſts in the government of this country. Here again, if you were to conſult friends leſs knowing than myſelf, you would be preſented with nothing but jarring and diſcordant opinions. Some would ſay, George, take it, and ſome, George, let it alone. For my part, my lord, I would adviſe you to do neither the one nor the other. Fickleneſs and inſtability, your lordſhip will pleaſe to obſerve, are of the very eſſence of a real ſtateſman. Who were the greateſt ſtateſmen this country ever had to boaſt? They were, my lord, the two Villiers's, dukes of Buckingham. Did not the firſt of theſe take his young maſter to the kingdom of Spain, in order to marry the infanta, and then break

off the match for no cauſe at all? Did he not afterwards involve the nation in a quarrel with the king of France, only becauſe her moſt chriſtian majeſty would not let him go to bed to her? What was the character of the ſecond duke? This nobleman,

> Stiff in opinions, always in the wrong,
> Was every thing by ſtarts, and nothing long,
> But, in the courſe of one revolving moon,
> Was chymiſt, fiddler, ſtateſman, and buffoon.

My lord, I do not flatter you ſo far as to ſuppoſe that your abilities are as great, or that you will ever make ſo diſtinguiſhed a figure as either of theſe noblemen. But I would have you imitate them in your humbler circle, and venture greatly, though the honour you ſhould derive from it, ſhould be only, that you greatly fell. Accept therefore, my lord, of one of the principal reſponſible offices without thought and without heſitation. Through terror or manly ſpirit, or whatever

ever you chooſe to call it, reſign again the next day. As ſoon as you have done this, make intereſt for another place, and if you can obtain it, throw it up as ſoon again. This, my lord, is not, as an ignorant and coxcomical writer has repreſented it, "the vibration of a pendu-"lum," but a conduct, wiſe, manly, judicious, and heroic. Who does not know, that the twinkling ſtars are of a more excellent nature, than thoſe which ſhine upon us with unremitted luſtre? Who does not know that the comet, which appears for a ſhort time, and vaniſhes again for revolving years, is more gazed upon than either? But I am afraid the comet is too ſublime an idea for your lordſhip's comprehenſion. I would therefore recommend to you, to make the cracker the model of your conduct. You ſhould ſnap and bounce at regular intervals; at one moment you ſhould ſeem a blazing ſtar, and the next be loſt in trackleſs darkneſs.

My

My lord, there is nothing, which at all times I have taken more pains to ſubdue, than that overweening pride, and immeaſurable conceit, which are the principal features of your lordſhip's character. Nature, indeed, has furniſhed you with one corrective to them, or they muſt infallibly have damned you. It is timidity. Other people may laugh at this quality. For my part I eſteem it worthy the loudeſt praiſe and moſt aſſiduous cultivation. When the balance hangs in doubt between the adventurouſneſs of vanity and the frigidity of fear, ever incline to the latter ſide. I had rather your lordſhip ſhould be a coward, than a coxcomb. If however you could attain to that reaſonable and chaſtiſed opinion of yourſelf, which ſhould ſteer a proper mean between theſe extremes, ſhould make you feel your ſtrength, when menaced by the moſt terrible adverſaries, and your weakneſs, when ſoothed by the moſt fawning paraſites, this, my lord, would

would be the higheſt perfection to which you could poſſibly attain. I will therefore cloſe my epiſtle with the diſcuſſion of a caſe, which your lordſhip may think parallel to the ſpecies of behaviour I have recommended to your cultivation. I mean that of the celebrated and incomparable earl Granville, in the year 1746. I will ſhow you what this nobleman did, and in how many particulars you muſt for ever hope in vain to reſemble him.

I remember, my lord, that you and I once ſtudied together the Hiſtory of England, in Queſtion and Anſwer. If your lordſhip recollects, the year 1746 began in the very height of the celebrated rebellion. The miniſters of the ſovereign at this time, were, that mixed and plauſible character, Mr. Pelham, and that immortalized booby, the duke of Newcaſtle. Theſe gentlemen poſſeſſed their full proportion of that paſſion, ſo univerſally incident to the human frame, the

love

love of power. They had formed ſuch a connection with the monied intereſt of the kingdom, that no adminiſtration could go on without them. Conſcious to this circumſtance, they had no toleration for a rival, they could "bear no "brother near the throne." From this ſentiment, they had driven that moſt able miniſter I have mentioned, from the cabinet of his ſovereign, in no very juſtifiable manner, about twelve months before. The ſame jealouſy kept alive their ſuſpicions: they knew the partiality of their maſter: they imagined their antagoniſt ſtill lurked behind the curtain. The diſtreſſes of the kingdom were to them the ladder of ambition. This was the language they held to their ſovereign: "The "enemy is already advanced into the "heart of your majeſty's dominions. "We know that you cannot do with-"out us. You muſt therefore liſten "with patience to what we ſhall dic-"tate. Drive from your preſence for

"ever

" ever the wiſeſt and the ableſt of all " your counſellors. This is the only " condition, upon which we will conti- " nue to ſerve you in this perilous mo- " ment." Majeſty, as it was but natural, was diſguſted with this language. The Pelhams reſigned. Lord Granville accepted the ſeals. And he held them I believe for ſomething more than a fortnight.

My lord, I will tell you, what were the Pelhams, and what was the true character of lord Granville. Whatever may be ſaid, and much I think may juſtly be ſaid, in favour of the former, they were not men of genius. Capable of conducting, and willing upon the whole to conduct with loyalty and propriety the affairs of their country, while they kept within the beaten channel, they were not born to grapple with arduous ſituations. They had not that commanding ſpirit of adventure, which leads a man into the path of

ſupererogation and voluntary ſervice: they had not that firm and collected fortitude which induces a man to look danger in the face, to encounter it in all its force, and to drive it from all its retrenchments. They were particularly attached to the patronage, which is uſually annexed to their high ſituations. They did not come into power by the voice of the people. They were not ſummoned to aſſume the adminiſtration by a vote of the houſe of commons. They were introduced into the cabinet by an inglorious and guilty compromiſe of ſir Robert Walpole; a compromiſe, that ſhunned the light; a compromiſe, that reflected indelible diſgrace upon every individual concerned in it. We will ſuppoſe them ever ſo much in the right in the inſtance before us. For certainly, the ſame reſponſibility, that ought to remove a miniſter from the helm, when he is become obnoxious to his countrymen, equally makes it improper, that he ſhould be originally ap-

pointed by the fancy or capricious partiality of the ſovereign. But were they ever ſo much in the right, it will yet remain true, that they took a poor and ungenerous advantage of the perſonal diſtreſſes of their maſter, which men of a large heart, and of ſterling genius, could never have perſuaded themſelves to take.

Such were the miniſters, whom it appears that king George the ſecond would have had no objection to ſtrip of their employments. I will tell you who it was, that he was willing to have ſubſtituted in their place. It was a man of infinite genius. His taſte was a ſtandard to thoſe, who were moſt attached to the fine arts, and moſt uninterruptedly converſant with them. His eloquence was ſplendid, animated, and engaging. Of all the ſtateſmen then exiſting in Europe, he was perhaps the

individual, who beſt underſtood the intereſts and the politics of all her courts. But your lordſhip may probably find it ſomewhat more intelligible, if I take the other ſide of the picture, and tell you what he was not. He was not a man of fawning and ſervility. He did not reſt his ambitious pretenſions upon any habitual adroitneſs, upon the arts of wheedling, and the tones of inſinuation. He reſted them upon the moſt ſolid talents, and the moſt brilliant accompliſhments. He did not creep into the cloſet of his ſovereign uncalled, and endeavour to make himſelf of conſequence by aſſiduities and officiouſneſs. He pleaded for years, in a manly and ingenuous manner, the cauſe of the people in parliament. It was by a popularity, great, and almoſt without exception, that he was introduced into power. When defeated by the undermining and contemptible art of his rivals; when convinced that it was impoſſi-

impoſſible for him, to employ his abilities with ſucceſs in the ſervice of his country, he retired. And it was only by the perſonal intreaties of his ſovereign, and to aſſiſt him in that arduous and difficult ſituation, in which thoſe who ought to have ſerved, deſerted him, that he once again accepted of office. He accepted it, for the temporary benefit of his country, and till thoſe perſons, who only could come into adminiſtration with efficiency and advantage, ſhould again reſume their places. He made way for them without a ſtruggle. He did not pretend to ſet practical impotence, though accompanied with abilities incomparably the ſuperior, againſt that influence and connexion by which they were ſupported. Of conſequence, my lord, his memory will always be reſpected and cheriſhed by the bulk of mankind.

I do

I do not mean to propoſe him to your lordſhip for a model. I never imagined that your talents qualified you for the moſt diſtant reſemblance of him; and I wiſhed to convince you how inferior they were. Beſide, my lord, he did not act upon the Machiavelian plan. His ſyſtem was that of integrity, frankneſs, and confidence. He deſired to meet his enemies; and the more extenſive the ground upon which he could meet them, the better. I was never idle enough to think of ſuch a line of conduct for your lordſhip. Go on then in thoſe crooked paths, and that inviſible direction, for which nature has ſo eminently fitted you. Intrench yourſelf behind the letter of the law. Avoid, carefully avoid, the poſſibility of any ſiniſter evidence. And having uniformly taken theſe precautions, defy all the malice of your enemies. They may threaten, but they ſhall never hurt you.

They

They may make you tremble and ſhrink with fancied terrors, but they ſhall never be able to man ſo much as a ſtraw againſt you. Immortality, my lord, is ſuſpended over your head. Do not ſhudder at the ſound. It ſhall not be an immortality of infamy. It ſhall only be an immortality of contempt.

THE END.